159 attempt to open up communications between Lei-po and Huang-
622 mao Kang. He used all means to make friends with the Lolo of
557 the En-cha branch to expand his influence. Furthermore, be-
177 cause of his Sinicization, he adopted the Chinese custom of worshipping ancestors both in the direct and the indirect lines [i. e., the line of his granduncle, as well as the line of his
[595] father]. Besides his first wife from the Li-ch'ü family, he took another wife from the Wu-ch'i family in the hope of continuing his granduncle's lineage, making his second wife stay with his grandaunt of the Wu-p'ao family. Hsing-min had good connections with different Lolo branches and his reputation and influence grew day by day. The strong family background of his two wives further enhanced his influence. Because of his multi-connections with the Lolo and Han-Chinese, he became one of the very successful Lolo leaders. Whenever the Han-Chinese living in the Lei-po area mention Hu Hsing-min's name, they all show great respect and admiration for him.

621 Wu-chio is quite different from other un-Sinicized Lolo
177 areas in that it is near a Chinese city and has been developed
563 by the Han-Chinese. Its inhabitants are all Sinicized Lolo with occasionally some Han-Chinese families living amidst the Lolo, so that it can hardly fail to have Chinese influence in its social organization. It is an important communication center between the Lolo and Han-Chinese, as well as an important pass to Ta-liang Shan. [22] As such, it will be difficult to reduce the tension between the two groups without an intelligent and capable leader in charge of the place. Hu Hsing-min died about five or
614 six years ago and was survived by two wives and their young
622 children. The wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih) had
● 627 two young daughters, and the wife from Wu-ch'i (Wu-ch'i shih) had a son still in infancy. Trouble soon started with the loss of the great family leader. Hsing-min had a younger uncle
[581 [see footnote, p. 25] in the paternal clan by the name of Hu
587] Ch'ang-pao, who intended to marry Li-ch'ü shih in order to succeed to Hsing-min's position. According to Lolo custom, the wife, after her husband's death, could marry his brother, his paternal younger uncle, his brother's son, or others. But
[614] Li-ch'ü shih did not want to remarry, and so she secretly asked her younger brother to kill Ch'ang-pao. The latter's family was weak and had no male member, but his elder maternal cousin [mother's elder brother's son], named Wu-ch'i Ku-pao, announced that he would avenge Ch'ang-pao's death and led his clan members to Wu-chio to engage in a feud. There were several attacks and counterattacks with casualties on

614 both sides. Soon afterwards, through negotiations by some
622 go-betweens, the tension gradually subsided and disappeared.
627 Armed conflict among the Lolo because of a clan feud is very common, sometimes lasting for generations without reconciliation. In Ch'ang-pao's case, however, the feud did not last long because it was not a conflict between two clans. Hsing-min and Ch'ang-pao had a nephew-uncle relationship in the same clan, and any feud within the clan is usually settled according to clan tradition, which stipulates that clan members should not consider each other as enemies. Furthermore, Hu Hsing-min's second wife from the Wu-ch'i family is of the same clan as Wu-ch'i Ku-pao. If she and her family should side with her husband's family to fight against Ku-pao, it would be an intrafamily feud within the Wu-ch'i branch. This kind of hostility, which does not involve one clan against another, divides the strength on each side and so complicates the situation that it could hardly result in a prolonged armed conflict.

614 After the conclusion of Ch'ang-pao's case, the white
625 Lolo subjects [pai-hsing] of the Hu family in Wu-chio, number-
584 ing about a hundred households, were concerned about the ab-
587 sence of leadership in the clan; so they got together and decided to arrange a match between Hsing-min's younger cousin [his father's younger brother's son] and Hsing-min's wife from the Li-ch'ü family (Li-ch'ü shih). Hsing-min had no brother, but only three cousins, the sons of his paternal younger uncle. The eldest cousin, Hsing-lun, was already married, while the youngest was still a child. So only the second of the cousins, Hsing-ch'ao, who was fourteen years old, was legally in line to marry his elder cousin's widow. One day, the white Lolo subjects suddenly took Hsing-ch'ao and pushed him into Li-ch'ü shih's room with the intention of forcing a marriage. Li-ch'ü shih, however, had heard the news and slipped away in time to avoid the match. The Lolo people then took Hsing-ch'ao to the house of Wu-ch'i shih, who accepted him. A year later, a baby girl was born. However, it was not long before Wu-ch'i shih died of sickness. Today, her father, Wu-ch'i Shih-t'u, has to stay with her
[736] family to take care of the two young grandchildren.

At present, the ruling power in Wu-chio is entirely in
614 the hands of Li-ch'ü shih, who has been appointed by the Lei-
622 po county government as head of a special pao [ward]. Her
[624] steward, the wa-tzu Ts'ai, makes all outside contacts for her and is known as Ts'ao Pao-chang [the ward headman]. The fact that Li-ch'ü shih is able to exert and maintain her power,

and Ting-chia P'ing belonged to the sphere of influence of the Pu-chi branch which was an enemy of the Li-ch'ü, and that there was bound to be a conflict if Ta-chi should lead the way and was stopped by the Pu-chi clan. So he ordered a member of the A-cho clan, who had no feud with the Pu-chi, to guide us. In this way there would be no occasion for a fight and no danger on the road. This is evidence of Ta-chi's tactfulness.

The maintenance of clan order depends upon the close union and co-operation of a wise, brave leader and the subjects who support him. Any conflict or quarrel that arises in the village is always settled by the black Lolo master, whose decision is obeyed by the white Lolo. As for a dispute among the black Lolo themselves, it is usually arbitrated by influential, responsible persons, such as village leaders, or pao-t'ou. Clan members rely upon an older person for his rich experience and superior judgment, and his words are considered model utterances to be followed by all. When an older person is a responsible village leader, he need not participate personally in a clan feud; instead, he could stay in the village to make plans and to send out his younger brothers, sons, brother's sons, and others to head the expedition. The leader of Pa-p'u village, Li-ch'ü Hsiao-ha, is a big, stalwart, and well-experienced old black Lolo. Because of his age, he always stays at home and sends his nephew, Lao-mu, to settle village affairs. Only twenty-five, Lao-mu is known for his bravery. Once he captured singlehandedly three Han-Chinese slaves, who were fleeing from Ta-liang Shan, in an old forest at Ying-li-lo-ku on the east side of Huang-mao Kang. This time when our inspection team entered the mountains, Ta-chi [25] employed Lao-mu as the second headman-protector, partly because Lao-mu has the backing of his uncle [father's elder blood brother] Hsiao-ha, who is the number one ying tu-tu of the Li-ch'ü branch.

The entire Li-ch'ü branch has its center in the region where the waters of the I-ch'ê Ho and the San-ho-i-chê converge. It includes Pa-p'u, I-lu, and San-ho-i-ta with a total population of more than a hundred households. Of these, only 14 are black Lolo, the others being white Lolo. Li-ch'ü Hsiao-ha is not only the leader of Pa-p'u village, but also the head of the entire Li-ch'ü branch. The Lolo of Liang Shan all call him "A-lo Wu-hêh," and none dares call him by his first name, Hsiao-ha. To call him A-lo, the original ancestor of the clan, from which the Li-ch'ü has branched out, is to show him respect. Wu-hêh is a term of respect in the Lolo language. In the entire Li-ch'ü branch, only one person can be

sometimes, the white Lolo under different black Lolo
564 masters may become involved in a conflict and eventually start
628 a feud which, once the situation gets beyond control, may lead
627 to an armed fight between two black Lolo clans. On the other hand, whenever the white Lolo under the same black Lolo master have a dispute, the black Lolo would come out to arbitrate and afterwards receive from the white Lolo a present of cattle as an expression of gratitude.

In a one-clan village, where there is only one black
621 Lolo leader, the white Lolo are assured of the safety of their
564 lives and property and can serve their master wholeheartedly, but those white Lolo who live outside the village, between two clans, or in some remote area have to serve black Lolo leaders of two or more clans in order to live in peace and quietness without being harmed or destroyed. Besides their own master, these white "subjects" have to submit to the black Lolo of the other branches for added protection. To pay respects to his
[431] other master, the white Lolo offers a pot of wine and a half of a pig's head as presentation gifts in recognition of his new "subject" status; he also contributes wine and food for every New Year festival. Automatically, he discharges all the obligations of a "subject."

[614] The Ch'ê-pi white Lolo branch at Ku-p'eng is subject to the Wù-ch'i branch, but most of its members also serve the headman-protector of the Li-ch'ü branch. At La-li Kou, which is an important pass to and from Liang Shan and a thoroughfare for the various clans, the people are heterogeneous in composition and the place itself is far from being a one-clan village. So the "subjects" there belong at the same time to a number of different black Lolo branches in order to ensure the safety of the community. Thus the relationship between the different clans, as well as the relationship between the black and white Lolo, is by no means simple with well-defined boundaries, but rather complicated, overlapping, and varied according to local developments.

564 In the Lolo territory the Han-Chinese slaves, who form
567 a separate class, occupy the lowest position. In a black Lolo family only a small number of white Lolo serve as household slaves, the majority of them being Han-Chinese. The white Lolo could not make slaves of other white Lolo but they could capture or purchase Han-Chinese as slaves, commonly called san-t'an wa-tzu. The white Lolo serve only their black master
[78] whereas the Han-Chinese could also become slaves of white Lolo. The status of Han-Chinese slaves is therefore very inferior.

567 The origin of Han-Chinese slaves can be generally
727

628 each family, B owes A an indemnity for the two extra lives it
728 took. A high price is paid for black Lolo and a lower price
682 for white Lolo. Besides payment, they would also try to find out the cause of the feud. If A started the feud, it has to pay B an indemnity in lieu of an apology.

628 The day on which peace is concluded, payments are made through a middleman and a ceremony is held to cele-
728 brate the peaceful settlement. Usually a mountain slope is
574 selected as the meeting place for both sides and the side which is to make the apology would kill oxen, sheep, pigs, and chickens to entertain the guests. Before the feast, they kill a chicken and drop its blood in the wine to be drunk by a representative from each side as a covenant that from now on they would resume friendly relations. After the covenant, they hold a big feast, welcoming each other with drinks, and leave only when everyone has had a good time.

614 In Lolo society, since the clan is primary in social or-
682 ganization, everybody in the clan shares the same responsi-
628 bility and obligation. The individual is a member of the clan organization. Any injury to the individual is considered an offense to the clan. So if one of its members is killed, the clan organization would come forward [90] for vengeance by-killing a member of the opposite group to atone for the death. That a life is paid for by another life is an unwritten law of Lolo society. The way to enforce this law is to utilize the organization's common responsibility and the mechanism of clan-feud fighting.

614 Members of the same clan are not permitted to fight
682 feuds. Today, however, on account of the rapid growth of
627 numerous branches within the clan, there are occasionally the misfortunes of fighting and killing between different branches of the same clan. All intraclan disputes are commonly arbitrated by an influential black Lolo in the clan. In the case of a murder, Lolo tradition requires that the killer pay with his life and no indemnity money be accepted. When Li-ch'ü Ta-i accidently killed the son of Li-ch'ü Pieh-t'u. In that same year, Pieh-t'u, who was Ta-i's younger uncle of the paternal clan, invited all clansmen to a meeting and to a feast for which an ox was killed. The clansmen decided that Ta-i
[762] would have to pay with his life. Reluctantly, Ta-i accepted the decision and twice attempted suicide without success. It was only after Pieh-t'u's sudden death that no one would press for the forfeit of Ta-i's life. At the same time Ta-i's wife's family, the En-cha branch, which was quite strong and influential, did not want Ta-i to pay with his life; so they came forward to negotiate

614 for an indemnity price. As Pieh-t'u had been dead and Ta-i
682 had gradually become prominent, no one in the Li-ch'ü clan
dared raise any objection. Therefore, due to human relations
627 and environmental factors, the traditional rule of paying with
one's life for killing a clan member has also been waived and
gradually changed in form and direction.

578 Nonetheless, in Lolo society, the killing of a blood
682 kinsman of a near branch sometimes still calls for the payment of life for life. For close relatives, such as brothers, father's younger brothers, and brother's sons, as well as father's sister's sons, mother's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons, and others who are involved in mutual feud killing, the killers all have to pay with their lives. To cite a case previously mentioned: Mo-shih Tso-t'i, who had been studying at the military academy in Ch'eng-tu, unfortunately had to return home for business before his graduation. It happened that at the time his elder brother was acting as a headman-protector to take more than a dozen Han-Chinese merchants from northern Yunnan to Liang Shan. The brother discussed with Tso-t'i his plot of kidnapping the Han-Chinese
[177] merchants as slaves in an act of reverse protection. Tso-t'i, however, who had recently received an education, knew that the Han-Chinese and the Lolo were of the same national family as citizens of the Republic of China, so he resisted his
[762] brother's advances. The latter argued violently with Tso-t'i and insisted on reverse protection with the result that in a fit of temper Tso-t'i killed himself with a gun. The clan members
[672] felt that Tso-t'i's brother should pay for the death with his life, but since Tso-t'i was not actually killed by his brother, the case remained undecided for a long time and is still not settled today.

614 On conclusion, within the framework of clan kinship,
672 the Lolo are encouraged to unite together and share collective responsibility so that clan members would not fight each other in a feud, and anyone who kills a member of his clan must pay with his own life. However, in external clan re-
614 lationships, the clan feud is an important structure in their
628 social life. As they have a warlike pattern in fighting clan
555 feuds generation after generation, their young men first
182 learn from them the art of fighting and later they themselves organize expeditionary teams to attack clan enemies and to rob and kill on route. Eventually the more people one kills and the more booty he seizes, the more famous he becomes and the higher his social position. Gradually he gets the title of headman-protector and becomes [91] a political leader.